



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

payment of reparation, and to build for them for a series of years in German yards an amount of tonnage exceeding their demands.

"6. In order to replace the river boats destroyed in Belgium and northern France, Germany offers river craft from her own resources.

"7. Germany thinks that she sees an appropriate method for the prompt fulfillment of her obligation to make reparations conceding participation in industrial enterprises, especially in coal mines to insure deliveries of coal.

"8. Germany, in accordance with the desires of the workers of the whole world, wishes to see the workers in all countries free and enjoying equal rights. She wishes to insure to them in the treaty of peace the right to take their own decisive part in the settlement of social policy and social protection.

Commission of Inquiry Proposed

"9. The German delegation again makes its demand for a neutral inquiry into the responsibility for the war and culpable acts in conduct. An impartial commission should have the right to investigate on its own responsibility the archives of all the belligerent countries and all the persons who took an important part in the war.

"Nothing short of confidence that the question of guilt will be examined dispassionately can put the peoples lately at war with each other in the proper frame of mind for the formation of the League of Nations.

"These are only the most important among the proposals which we have to make. As regards other great sacrifices and also as regards the details, the delegation refers to the accompanying memorandum and the annex thereto.

"The time allowed us for the preparation of this memorandum was so short that it was impossible to treat all the questions exhaustively. A fruitful and illuminating negotiation could only take place by means of oral discussion. This treaty of peace is to be the greatest achievement of its kind in all history. There is no precedent for the conduct of such comprehensive negotiations by an exchange of written notes only. The feeling of the peoples who have made such immense sacrifices makes them demand that their fate should be decided by an open, unreserved exchange of ideas on the principle: 'Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly in the public view.'

Treaties of the Past

"Germany is to put her signature to the treaty laid before her and to carry it out. Even in her need, justice for her is too sacred a thing to allow her to stoop to achieve conditions which she cannot undertake to carry out. Treaties of peace signed by the Great Powers have, it is true, in the history of the last decades again and again proclaimed the right of the stronger. But each of these treaties of peace has been a factor in originating and prolonging the world war. Whenever in this war the victor has spoken to the vanquished, at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest, his words were but the seeds of future discord. The lofty aims which our adversaries first set before themselves in their conduct of the war, the new era of an assured peace of justice, demand a treaty instinct with a different spirit. Only the co-operation of all nations, a co-operation of hands and spirits, can build up a durable peace. We are under no delusions regarding the strength of the hatred and bitterness which this war has engendered, and yet the forces which are at work for a union of mankind are stronger now than ever they were before. The historic task of the Peace Conference of Versailles is to bring about this union.

"Accept, Mr. President, the expression of my distinguished consideration.

"BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU."

THE POWERS REPLY TO GERMANY

The final statement of the allied and associated powers as to conditions of peace, in reply to the German counter proposals of May 29, was handed to the German delegation,

June 16, and also made public. Seven days to accept or refuse the treaty, with two days of grace, were given; and Count von Brockdorff at once left Paris for Weimar, there to lay the statement before the National Assembly.

The statement of the victors was accompanied by a covering letter signed by the President of the Conference, G. Clemenceau, which was a candid, pungent, impressive re-statement of the indictment against Germany by the civilized world for which the Conference claims to act, and was also an able argument for refusing to modify in any substantial way the terms of peace originally imposed.

Nevertheless certain alterations in details have been made as the result of later study of the problem, and these have to do with a plebiscite for Upper Silesia, with guarantees of coal therefrom; frontier rectification in West Prussia; omission of the third zone of the Schleswig plebiscite; temporary increase of the permitted German army from 100,000 to 200,000; a declaration of intention to submit within a month of signature a list of those accused of violation of the laws and customs of war; an offer to cooperate with a German Commission of Reparations and to receive suggestions for discharging the obligation; modification of certain details in the financial, economic, and ports and waterway clauses, including abolition of the Kiel Canal Commission; and assurance of Germany's membership in the League in the early future, if she fulfills her obligations.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE TREATIES

1919

June 25.—President Ebert, backed by Prime Minister Bauer and the other German Ministers, announce to the people of Germany the conclusion of terms of peace by the Allied Conferees in Paris.

June 26.—The German government selects Dr. Herman Müller, German Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Dr. Johannes Bell, Colonial Minister, to sign the peace treaty for Germany.

The Paris conferees reply to the Turks that they cannot accept the suggestion that Turkish territories be restored as before the war.

Reparation will be asked for the sinking of the German fleet and for the burning of the French flags captured from France in 1870, which under the terms of the treaty were to have been returned to France.

Germany is told that she must not support, officially or unofficially, any movement against Poland.

June 28.—The end of the war. The two German plenipotentiaries and the delegates of twenty-six of the allied and associated governments, in the Chamber of Mirrors at Versailles, sign the treaty of peace.

The Chinese delegates do not sign, because of the denial of their request that they be allowed to make reservations regarding Shantung.

General Christian Smuts signs the treaty under protest.

President Wilson after cabling the United States that the pact is a "charter for a new order of affairs in the world," and that there is "ground for deep

satisfaction, universal reassurance, and confident hope," leaves Paris for the United States.

June 29.—German evangelical churches set apart Sunday, July 6, as a day of mourning on account of the peace treaty.

President Wilson sails from Brest.

June 30.—A new council of Four is formed in Paris, consisting of Mr. Pichon for France, Mr. Lansing for the United States, Mr. Balfour for Great Britain, and Mr. Tittoni for Italy.

July 3.—The text of the agreement between the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, and France, providing for immediate assistance for France in case of an unprovoked act of aggression on the part of Germany, is given out by the foreign office in Paris.

July 6.—Austria asks that she be admitted to the League of Nations upon its signing of the peace.

July 8.—President Wilson arrives in Washington by way of New York. The Adriatic question again to the fore in Paris.

July 9.—Resolutions ratifying the peace treaty are adopted by the German National Assembly at Weimar, by a vote of 208 to 115. The text of the ratification resolutions contains two clauses as follows:

"The peace treaty between Germany and the allied and associated powers signed on June 28, 1919, as the protocol belonging thereto, as well as the agreement relative to the occupation of the Rhineland, signed the same day, are agreed to.

"This law comes into force on the day of its promulgation."

Most of the Ministers and all of the Deputies were present at the meeting. Dr. Müller, Minister of Foreign Affairs, said: "We are about to enter upon a forty years' march through a desert. I can find no other terms for the path of suffering the fulfillment of the treaty prescribes for us." The leader of the Catholic Centre Party, Dr. Peter Spahn, said: "We agreed to the treaty under hard compulsion, to save ourselves from anarchy and to preserve the Fatherland from internal ruin." A number of speeches violently protested against the injustice of the treaty and the impossibility of its fulfillment, and declaring that the day of Germany's liberation would come.

July 10.—President Wilson receives the newspaper men and presents the treaty of peace to the Senate.

July 12.—Commercial relations between France and Germany resumed.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

The Irish Republic's President, prior to his secret departure for the United States, where he has been resorting to propaganda labors during the past month and where, considering his peculiar status, he has been the recipient of extraordinary favors and courtesies from public officials, national, State and municipal, joined with his associates in sending to the Peace Conference at Paris the following letter:

MANSION HOUSE, DUBLIN,
May 26, 1919.

M. Georges Clemenceau, President of the Peace Conference,
Paris.

SIR:

On May 17 we forwarded to you a note requesting you to warn the conference that the Irish people will not be bound by the signatures of English or British delegates to the conference, inasmuch as these delegates do not represent Ireland.

We now further request that you will provide an opportunity for the consideration by the conference of Ireland's claim to be recognized as an independent sovereign State.

We send you herewith a general memorandum on the case and beg to direct your attention in particular to the following.

1. That the rule of Ireland by England has been and is now intolerable; that it is contrary to all conceptions of liberty and justice, and as such, on the ground of humanity alone, should be ended by the conference.

2. That the declared object of the conference is to establish a lasting peace, which is admittedly impossible if the legitimate claims of self-determination of nations, such as Ireland, is denied.

3. That incorporated with the Peace Treaty under consideration is a covenant establishing a League of Nations intended among other things to confirm and perpetuate the political relations and conditions established by the treaty. It is clear that it is radically unjust to seek to confirm and perpetuate what is essentially wrong, and that it is indefensible to refuse an examination of title when a confirmation of possession is intended such as that provided by the draft covenant of the League of Nations.

Ireland definitely denies that England or Britain can show just claim or title to hold or possess Ireland, and demands an opportunity for her representatives to appear before the conference to refute any such claim.

We feel that these facts are sufficient basis to merit for our request the consideration which we are sure you, Sir, will give them.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurance of our great esteem.

EAMONN DE VALERA.
ARTHUR GRIFFITH.
GEORGE NOBLE.

(Count Plunkett.)

This communication had no perceptible effect upon the body to which it was addressed, and, together with other documents of a similar tenor addressed more specifically to President Wilson and to the American Peace delegation, was left in the hands of the President of the Conference, M. Clemenceau, when the American executive left Paris for home, June 29.

The cost of the war to the United States, down to May 31, as estimated by the statistics branch of the General Staff of the Army, had been \$21,850,000,000,